Cannon Explains the Death of the Stalin Cult

Shows Pressure Of Soviet People On Bureaucracy

By James P. Cannon

(Speech given March 9 at the Los Angeles Friday Night Forum.)

Three years ago Stalin, the bloodthirsty tyrant, the betrayer of revolutions and the murderer of revolutionists, "the most sinister criminal in the history of mankind," unfortunately died in bed. Two weeks ago his personally selected and hand-picked heirs, the beneficiaries of his monstrous tyranny and the accomplices in all his crimes, used the occasion of the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party to denounce the cult of Stalin and to declare that his dictatorial rule for 20 years was wrong.

The Congress pronouncement is true, as far as it goes. And it is the first official truth that has come out of Moscow for more than 30 years. Truth is a slow starter. Mark Twain said a lie can travel halfway around the world while the truth is putting its shoes on. But the truth has more endurance than the lie, and eventually catches up with it. The truth is on the march again — even in Moscow.

According to press reports, after the Kremlin bureaucrats had repudiated and buried the cult of Stalin by official decree, they wound up the Congress by singing "The International." But I think their tongues must have twisted over the chorus, which says that those who have been naught shall be all. The chief business of their Congress was to say that Stalin, who had once been "all," was henceforth to be nothing. The prophecy of "The International" was shifted into reverse gear at the Moscow Congress, and the cult of Stalin happened to be in the way and got run over. The Stalin cult is dead, never to rise again.

One of the Moscow correspondents of the Associated Press reports that he asked a Congress delegate what would now be done about all those plaster monuments of Stalin standing around in Moscow and all over Russia, and the delegate answered: "The monuments can stand." But he's mistaken about that. They will stand for a while until somebody gets the idea for a badly needed road program in the Soviet Union, and looks at all this plaster standing around for no good reason, and says it ought to be put through the rock crusher and ground up into material for concrete. That's where the monuments of Stalin will eventually end.

There is even a rumor that Lenin addressed a message to the Congress through a spiritual medium. You know, in a mistaken impulse right after the death of Stalin, his successors buried him in the Red Square right beside Lenin. According to the rumor, Lenin sent a request to the Congress to have him moved out of there, because, he said: "I don't want to be found dead in the same mausoleum with Stalin."

Shakespeare must have been looking ahead to this day when he wrote:

> "But yesterday the word of Caesar might
> Have stood against the world; now lies he there,
> And none so poor to do him reverence."

Not even the poor American Stalinists do reverence to Stalin anymore, and they're about as poor as you can get. I noticed in the **Daily Worker** a piece about the 75th birthday of William Z. Foster, the chief and chairman of the American Stalinists. Some time ago Foster published an autobiography which he entitled, without knowing what was coming, "From Bryan to Stalin." In the **Daily Worker** article relating Foster's accomplishments this volume is not listed among the products of his pen.

The article states that Foster "was in the forefront of the struggle" against Jay Lovestone, and also in the forefront of the struggle against Earl Browder, and then it stops. It doesn't say that Foster was in the forefront

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Montgomery Fight Unshaken Despite Jim Crow Verdict

Foster Says Don't Tear Stalin to "Political Shreds"

By Tom Kerry

Members of the American Communist Party, along with their co-thinkers throughout the world, are suffering from acute shock. They are literally reeling from the effects of the pronouncements coming out of the 20th Congress in Moscow throwing overboard everything they had been taught to believe for a whole generation. The cherished myth of Stalin's infallibility has been shattered.

For 30 years members of the Communist Party have been taught to accept every devious twist and turn in Stalinist policy. Despite their misgivings, they were taught to accept because Stalin said it was right and good and necessary for the defense of the Soviet Union. His disciples in the leadership of the various sections ruled by right of their unquestioning adherence to the Stalin myth and obedience to his command. The essence of the Stalin myth was to accept without thinking, or in violence to one's own thought, in deference to the court of last resort — Stalin, the infallible. What now?

"JOLTED"

The leaders of the American Communist Party confess they are at a complete loss. Their contradictory explanations explain nothing. They say they are shaken, bewildered and dismayed — that much we can accept and understand. Alan Max, managing editor of the Daily Worker, says he was "jolted" and any Stalinist who says otherwise is either a crook or a fool.

Joseph Clark, foreign expert for the same paper, is confused and disturbed. To Walter Ulbricht, leader of the East German Stalinist party, and 20th Congress critic of the Stalin cult, Clark directs the pointed comment: "Ulbricht would have been a lot more candid if he had only admitted that he himself had contributed to sponsoring the 'cult of the individual.'"

Clark's barb, aimed at Ulbricht, sounded an ominous note as it whistled by the ear of William Z. Foster, titular head of the American Communist Party. Foster rushed into print in the Daily Worker of March 16, to admonish Stalin's critics, that "our task is neither to rush indignantly to the defense of Stal-

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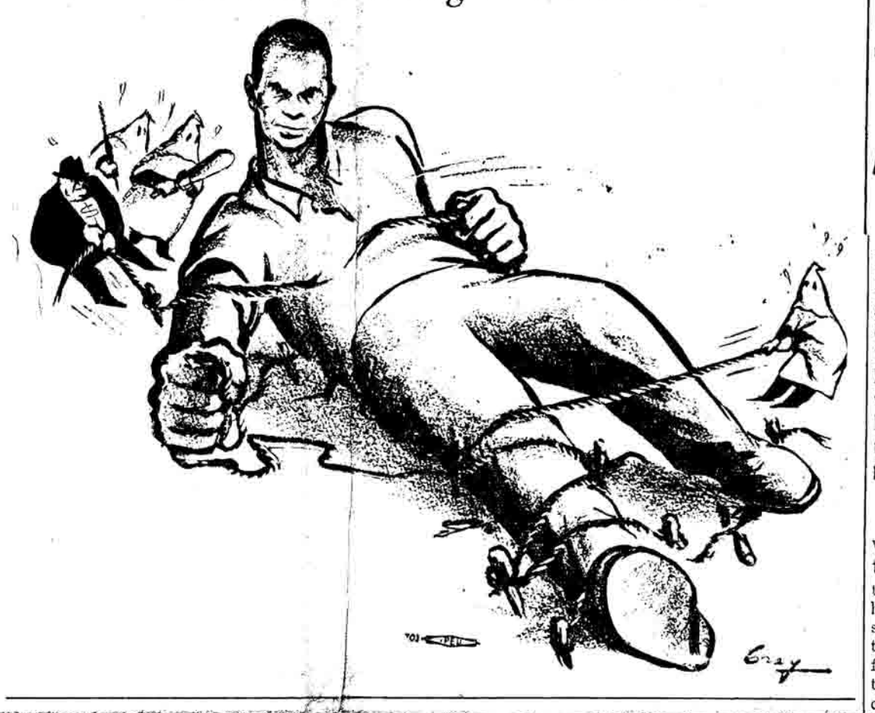
Freedom is Rising in the South



Westinghouse Retreats From Union-Busting Try

By Daniel Roberts

FEB. 20 — The strike of 45,000 members of the International Union of Electrical Workers (AFL-CIO) against the Westinghouse Corp. ended today after 156 days. It was the longest and hardest fought major strike since the end of World War II. The Company used every strike-breaking device at its command but could not break the union. After the return of a few hundred scabs during the first weeks, the strike front remained solid to the end.

In the course of the five months, Westinghouse instituted a modern version of the notorious Mohawk Valley union-busting plan used in the 1930's. This included police violence (which killed one striker), "back-to-work" movements, anti-picketing court injunctions and open federal aid to the company.

While the IUE workers forced Westinghouse to retreat in its union-busting try, the union did not win its basic demands. It was forced to compromise on the two main issues of the strike. These were (1) the workers' refusal to sign a five-year contract — they wanted one of shorter duration and (2) their refusal to permit the company to speed up hourly workers.

REINSTATEMENT ISSUE

In addition, the union had to compromise a crucial demand arising out of the strike itself — namely, that the company reinstate 93 workers fired for alleged picket line violence. In the settlement, the company agreed immediately to reinstate 57, but 36 others are "indefinitely suspended" and their return is to be negotiated at the local level. If company and union then fail to agree, the cases go to arbitration.

Judging from past experiences in such matters, the company will likely be able to claim a number of victims. Big Business will be able to hold these up to deter any other group of workers from going on strike. It was over accepting the reinstatement terms that the IUE strike committee split — a minority proposing to continue the strike until the company agreed to take all workers back.

Given the strength of the U.S. labor movement today, the Westinghouse workers should have scored a victory on all demands and in record time. But the Carey leadership in the IUE, which was forced to undertake the strike by the pressure of the workers, never stood firm on their demands and this encouraged the company in its union-busting attempt.

Nor did the top leaders of the AFL-CIO mobilize the labor movement for victory at Westinghouse. They passed resolutions of support and solicited funds, but feared to mobilize all unionists to man mass picket lines and feared to call for 24-hour general sympathy strikes that would have quickly forced Westinghouse to come to terms. It is the treacherous policy of the top labor bureaucrats that cheated the IUE workers of the full victory their heroic struggle on the picket line entitled them to win.

The strike of 10,000 United Electrical Workers (Ind.) against Westinghouse continues. It needs all-out aid from the rest of labor to secure its victory.

Dobbs Calls On Unions To Back Up Movement Against Segregation

By Farrell Dobbs

MONTGOMERY, March 22 — The trial of Rev. Martin L. King, leader of the history-making bus protest in this Deep South city, has just closed with a verdict of guilty. Judge Eugene Carter sentenced him to a fine of $500 or 140 days at hard labor and costs. The spirit of the Negro bus boycotters was typified by a statement I heard a Negro woman make as I left the courthouse. "I walk from now on," she declared, "if my feet give out, I will crawl." Rev. King was released on $1,000 bond. All the other cases of the boycott leaders will be postponed pending the outcome of the appeal in King's case.

* * *

MONTGOMERY, Ala., March 20 — In full solidarity with the indicted leaders of their bus protest movement, the embattled Negro people of this city came in strength to the mass trial that opened here yesterday. Long before the second floor courtroom opened they packed the corridors and formed lines down the stairs toward the outside where waiting crowds gathered.

Few gained entry to the courtroom where the 90 defendants filled over half the spectators' seats. Those turned away went to an empty room in the adjacent wing of the U-shaped building where they crowded to the windows, peering across the areaway for a glimpse of the trial scene.

Apart from reporters, witnesses and bailiffs, few white people have appeared in the segregated courtroom. The handful present as spectators are seated inside the rail in the space usually reserved for lawyers, defendants and the press.

WORLD COVERAGE

Reporters are here from France, England, India and many parts of the United States. Newsreel and television cameras are set up at the court house entrance to interview the principals in the trial. The national Negro press is heavily represented.

Those indicted include officers and executive committee members of the Montgomery Improvement Association, among them twenty five ministers. The Association is a voluntary group dedicated to defense of the democratic rights of the Negro people. Also arrested are several drivers of the car pool formed to provide transportation to Negroes declining to ride Jim-Crow buses.

Prominent among the defendants is Mrs. Rosa Parks, an alteration tailor, whose arrest Dec. 1 for refusing to give her bus seat to a white man set off the protest movement. Also included are two victims of the first wave of terror against the protest action. They are Rev. M. L. King Jr., and E. D. Nixon, a railroad union man, both of whose homes have been bombed since the protest started. They are leading figures in the movement.

Another victim of earlier attacks sits among the defense counsel. He is Fred D. Gray, a young lawyer who was first reclassified from a ministerial status to 1-A in the draft and then arrested for filing a suit against the state's segregation laws allegedly without authorization from all clients he claimed to represent.

At the counsel table nine Negro lawyers for the defense flank the three white prosecutors. Defense counsel includes Robert Carter of New York, a member of the NAACP legal staff, and Arthur D. Shores of Birmingham, who also represents Autherine Lucy in her fight for admission to the University of Alabama.

IMPRESSIVE GROUP

The Negroes present in the courtroom — defendants, lawyers and spectators alike — conduct themselves with great dignity, determination and manifest pride in their people. Their morale is high; their discipline as a movement superb; their ability as strategists tacticians and organizers impressive.

The defendants have waived

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A Note to CP Rank and File

James P. Cannon, whose speech on the Stalin cult we publish in this issue, is a pioneer American revolutionary socialist. Before World War I he was a left-winger in the Socialist Party and a front-line fighter in the IWW. After the Russian Revolution of 1917 he helped to found the Communist Party of the U.S. and was a member of its Central Committee.

In 1928, after attending the Sixth Congress of the Communist International, Cannon announced his support of the Left Opposition led by Leon Trotsky in the Soviet Communist Party. At the Sixth Congress he had studied the basic criticism Trotsky made of the program of Stalin's bureaucratic faction.

Cannon told the Communist workers in the U.S. that support of Stalinism would doom the party in the U.S. to failure as an independent revolutionary instrument of the working class. For this he was expelled, together with hundreds of the best Communist militants by the American adherents of the Stalin cult — William Z. Foster, Jay Lovestone and Earl Browder.

In 1938 the American Trotskyists formed the Socialist Workers Party. The new party continued to explain to the Communist Party rank and file that support of the Stalin cult, with its cynical disregard for the interests of the world socialist revolution, its betrayal of the defense of the Soviet Union, its frame-ups, slander and murder of incorruptible revolutionists, its opportunist deals with "democratic" imperialism, with Chiang Kai-shek and with Hitler, was incompatible with the task of building a revolutionary party of the working class.

The American Stalinist leaders answered these arguments with the dogma that criticism of Stalin was an attack on the Soviet Union and equivalent to serving fascism. They spread the methods and politics of the Stalin cult within the radical movement in the U.S. They built a frame-up and slander machine and cheered loudly when the federal government convicted 18 SWP leaders for their opposition to imperialist war in the first Smith Act trials in Minneapolis, 1940.

Now that the Kremlin itself has begun to admit the crimes of Stalin in an effort to evade the wrath of the Soviet workers, it is the duty of serious American Communist workers and youth to examine first hand the views of Trotsky and the Socialist Workers Party.

Demands Khrushchev Tell Truth About Trotsky

MARCH 21 — The Socialist Workers Party today demanded that the Kremlin go all the way in its repudiation of Stalin's dictatorship with complete exposure of the frame-up trials against Leon Trotsky, the leading Bolshevik who refused to capitulate to the "Stalin cult" and fought the tyranny of the dictator until his death at the hands of Stalin's assassin in 1940. The SWP demanded the full restoration of Soviet democracy that prevailed under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky, beginning with the immediate release of all political prisoners from forced labor camps.

In a cable to Nikita S. Khrushchev, Soviet Communist Party secretary, Joseph Hansen, former secretary to Leon Trotsky, today demanded the following: "Press reports you have branded Stalin as murderer. If so please publish details how Stalin organized murder of Trotsky. Also answer Natalia Trotsky's request for rehabilitation names of her husband and son, falsely accused in frame-up trials, and news of fate of her son Serge."

Trotsky's widow wired the presidium of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on Feb. 22 asking for a complete review of the Moscow trials and vindication of the "memory of victims before international public opinion." In a

itter to the Soviet government, atalia Trotsky also asked for ews of her son Serge Sedov hose disappearance in the Soviet nion she learned of 20 years go. His fate is still not known. o reply has been received to ther of these messages.

OBBS' LETTER

In another communication sent day to Nikita S. Khrushchev, rrell Dobbs, National Secretary the Socialist Workers Party id:

"Your admissions about the imes of Stalin can have meanig only if the principal target Stalin's murder machine, imely, Leon Trotsky and his pporters, are fully cleared of all charges concocted during the infamous Moscow trials.

"We request: (1) That Natalia Trotsky's demand for information of her son's fate be answered at once. Also her demand that Leon Trotsky and Leon Sedov's names be cleared of all false charges.

"(2) Full information regarding Stalin's organization of the murder of Trotsky, a number of his secretaries and family be presented in detail.

"(3) There are thousands of revolutionists in Soviet prisons and camps who were victimized during Stalin's reign of terror on charges of 'Trotskyism' and later of 'Titoism.' We demand the immediate release of all political prisoners in the USSR and a thorough review of their cases before world public opinion.

"(4) It has been reported that you explained the complicity of the present leaders of the Soviet Union in Stalin's crimes by the fact that you feared execution by Stalin if you protested. The sincerity of your present repudiation of Stalin can be tested by the extent and the speed with which you present the full truth about Stalin's crimes and rehabilitate his victims."

Dobbs also recalled the cable he sent to Khrushchev in Belgrade, Yugoslavia, last June 1, 1955. At that time the new Kremlin bureaucrats acknowledged the frame-up charges, fabricated against the Titoists. The SWP leader asked vindication and liberation of these post-War II victims purged as "Titoists" and "Trotskyists." There was no reply to this cable.

LEON TROTSKY

End of Stalin Cut

What Next in the Soviet Union? • Speaker: **Morris Stein** • **Saturday, March 24** 8:00 P.M. • **New York Militant Forum** 116 University Place (near Union Square)

...Cannon Explains the Death of the Stalin Cult

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of the struggle against Trotskyism, hand in hand with Browder and Lovestone. It doesn't say that he was the promoter of the cult of Stalinism. On the contrary, it says — this is really rich, and it must have been an afterthought that they put in after the proofs were already drawn, and they got the reports from the Moscow Congress — "Comrade Foster has fought at all times for collective leadership in the party." No mention of Stalin and Foster's services to Stalin.

The Stalin cult is a dead duck; there is no question about that. Even the third anniversary of Stalin's death on March 5 was ignored by the Soviet press. The Moscow correspondent of the New York Times reports under that date: "The Soviet press, radio and most of the people made no comment today on the third anniversary of the death of Stalin . . . Only foreigners seemed to be aware of today's anniversary. An effort to bring up Stalin's name in conversation with an English-speaking Soviet citizen brought only a nod of the head."

The press of the American Stalinists also forgot to mention the third anniversary of Stalin's demise. And the blanket of silence covered China too. A March 5 dispatch from Hong Kong in the New York Times says: "The Chinese Communists maintained a discreet silence on Stalin today. Neither the Hsinhua news agency nor the Peiping radio marked the anniversary."

I mention these news items neither in sorrow nor in anger. Whatever the reason for this action of the Soviet Congress, the repudiation of Stalin by his heirs is big news and good news — the biggest news and the best news since the death of Stalin himself three years ago. We can recognize this without exaggerating the significance of the Congress action or deceiving ourselves and others about its purpose.

In the Name of Lenin

It does not mean the end of Stalinism in the Soviet Union and on the international field. Far from it. The assembled bureaucrats at the Congress, who are the product of the abominable system and the representatives of its privileged beneficiaries, hope to preserve Stalinism by unloading Stalin and repudiating the hateful cult associated with his name. But the repudiation of the cult may very well mark the beginning of the end of the system just the same.

It is remarkable how differently the successors of Stalin treat his name, than Stalin found it necessary to treat the name of Lenin. Stalin, the imposter, treated the name of Lenin with a great outward show of reverence. He claimed to be the best disciple of Lenin. The whole development of Stalinism, which was a counter-revolutionary reaction against the heritage of Lenin, was passed off as a continuation of Leninism. The international revolution, the heart of Lenin's program, was betrayed by Stalin in the name of Lenin.

All this deceitful pretense of reverence for Lenin was necessary because Lenin lived in the memory of the Russian masses as the personification of the great revolution, and the masses loved his name for that. But how different it is with the name of Stalin. The bureaucrats assembled at the 20th Congress, who are the true heirs of Stalin and owe their positions to his favor, are already ashamed and afraid to acknowledge him. They found it necessary and expedient, only three years after the tyrant died, to repudiate his name at a formal congress.

There was a profound reason for their action, and that reason is the key to the riddle. I think it is clear now, as Trotsky always said, that the cult of Stalin was the cult of the privileged bureaucrats. It was never the faith of the masses of the Soviet workers. Despite all the years that Stalin ruled after the death of Lenin; despite all the falsification of history, all the crooked, lying propaganda; all the suppression of free opinion, all the terror, all the frame-ups and murders; all the attempts to bury the murdered opponents of Stalin under tons of official slander, and the official deification of Stalin — despite all that, the cult of Stalin never took hold among the Soviet workers. They never believed it.

That is now implicitly recognized by the proclamations of the 20th Congress. The simple fact that the Congress felt impelled to repudiate Stalin, bears testimony to a powerful revulsion of the Soviet masses against everything connected with his name. That revulsion of the masses against the name and the memory of Stalin was the mass pressure behind the Congress. And now, with the stamp of "legality" placed on the true sentiments of the masses, this pressure will grow stronger and will bring far greater repercussions than this first formal action.

The Logic of Concessions

We see proof every day that the Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation in the public schools in the United States stimulated the struggle of the Negro people for equal rights all along the line. So, in the same way, we can expect that the Moscow Congress action will encourage the workers in the Soviet Union and the satellite countries to demand the real thing as well as the promise.

There cannot be the slightest doubt that the long-oppressed Soviet workers have received the Congress reports as tidings of great joy, and have lifted up their hearts in hope. There is jubilation in the factories and dancing in the streets of the forced labor camps. The political prisoners of Stalinism, who number millions in the Soviet Union, look forward now to the end of their long agony. There can be no doubt that the Soviet masses will seize upon these Congress pronouncements as a banner in their struggle to end the long nightmare of police-state tyranny which bears the name of Stalinism.

History does not know another repudiation of a cult coming so soon after the death of the individual who personified it, without a revolution accompanying the death of the tyrant. It is true that the cult of Mussolini died with him on the same day, on the same meathook from which the fascist monster was hanged upside down on the public square by the revolutionary partisans of Italy. Stalin escaped the fate of Mussolini, which was his due. Stalin didn't die in the right way, and that caused a slight delay in the burial of his cult along with its author. But this discrepancy has finally been made up; the cult of Stalin has followed him in death after only a brief three-year interlude.

The repudiation of the Mussolini cult was thoroughgoing and unconditional, and included everything connected with his name after he came to power. That was possible because Mussolini himself was executed by his enemies, the revolutionary masses of Italy, and revolutions do not stop at half measures. The repudiation of the Stalin cult, by the friends and heirs of Stalin, was more limited. They were willing, so far, to say only that Stalin's regime had been wrong for 20 years before his death, without naming the most atrocious crimes of Stalinism in that long time.

The Moscow Trials

Those 20 years which they have now proscribed and repudiated, include the 1936-1937 period. The years during which they say his rule was wrong, are the years in which the Old Bolsheviks — the noblest, the most heroic generation in all history — were framed-up and murdered by Stalin. They have not yet said so specifically, but by inference they have repudiated all the frame-ups and all the murders. They have even begun to rehabilitate some of the victims of the purges, specifically by name.

I read one dispatch which said that Bela Kun, the Hungarian leader who perished in one of the purges, has now been officially recognized as falsely accused; and a eulogistic article was published in Pravda as if nothing had happened. Another victim of the purges, the Ukrainian, Kossier, is now discovered to have been falsely accused and framed-up in the great purge. The leadership of the Polish Communist Party, which was expelled in 1938, is now declared to have been framed-up — 18 years after the event.

Declarations were made at the Congress that Stalin's "History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union" is false and has to be re-written. That follows from the present decision to repudiate the last 20 years of Stalinism. But that still leaves ten years unaccounted for — the crucial first ten years when the regime of Stalin was consolidated in the course of a political counter-revolution against the heritage of Lenin, which was defended by Trotsky.

They swear off the cult of Stalin without specifying and repudiating the specific crimes that were committed in the name of that cult; without repudiating the whole theory and practice of Stalinism on a national and international scale since the death of Lenin. They haven't yet said anything about the long, monstrous record of Stalinism in the international labor movement.

Why Did They Do It?

That record includes the betrayal of the Chinese revolution in 1926; and the betrayal of the German workers in 1933, which made possible the victory of Hitler and all its terrible consequences for the German working class and for the people of Europe. They haven't said anything yet about the betrayal of the Spanish revolution in 1936, and the murder of the Spanish revolutionists by the Stalinist gunmen sent there for that purpose. They haven't mentioned yet the Stalin-Hitler pact, which precipitated the Second World War.

They haven't mentioned the policy of social patriotism adopted by all the Stalinist parties allied with the Soviet Union during the Second World War. Under this policy the shameful Stalinists in this country joined the camp of the imperialist masters and became the chief advocates of the no-strike pledge and the most zealous strikebreakers. In the service of Stalin they applauded our prosecution in Minneapolis in 1943 — the first prosecution under the Smith Act — and appealed to the unions to refuse contributions to our legal defense.

The Moscow Congress didn't say anything about the betrayal of the revolution in Europe immediately after the war. The French partisans and the Italian partisans had power in their hands, but they were disarmed by the policy of Stalinism. The communist workers were demoralized by the Stalinist policy of collaboration with the bourgeoisie. Representatives of the Communist parties in Italy and France went into bourgeois cabinets and helped to stabilize the regime and stifle the revolution.

They haven't yet repudiated another typical manifestation of Stalinism here in the United States. That is the present policy of the Communist Party, advising the workers to be good Democrats and join the Democratic Party along with the bankers and the industrialists and the Dixiecrats, and vote for the Democratic Party in order to serve the diplomatic interests of the Kremlin gang.

They have repudiated the cult of Stalin but they haven't yet repudiated Stalinism and the crimes of Stalinism. That is something like a professional criminal pleading guilty to spitting on the sidewalk in the hope of avoiding trial on the charge of murder.

The Moscow bureaucrats have made a start — that cannot be denied, or ignored. They have confessed something, but they haven't confessed enough yet. They said "A," but they choked over "B." But in the political alphabet, "B" follows after "A," and we can be confident that it will be said in due time. If the heirs of Stalin cannot yet say "B," because to do so they would have to repudiate themselves, the Soviet workers, whose burning hatred of every memory of the Stalinist regime is the driving force behind these first partial disavowals, will say it for them — and against them.

The repudiation of the Stalin cult at the Moscow Congress is an echo in the top bureaucratic circles of the ominous rumble of the coming political revolution in the Soviet Union. Nothing less than a complete political revolution will do there. It is not merely the cult of Stalin as a person, but Stalinism as a political system, that must be repudiated and overthrown. That can be done only by a revolution of the Soviet workers.

The goal of this revolution is the unconditional repudiation of the Stalinist theory of "socialism in one country," which was the motivation of all the crimes and betrayals, and the reaffirmation of the Lenin-Trotsky program of proletarian internationalism; the overthrow of the Stalinist police-state in the Soviet Union and the restoration of Soviet democracy; the abolition of the privileged caste; a complete review of the frame-up trials and purges and a vindication of their victims. These are the demands and the program of the political revolution in the Soviet Union.

The Moscow Congress was not the revolution, and it does not signify the restoration of Soviet democracy, as fools and traitors may suggest, but it was an incident on the road to it. A faltering, hesitant reflection in the Soviet tops of a mighty revolutionary impulse from below; a promise of reform in the police state regime, a verbal gesture of appeasement in the hope of heading off the storm — that is what the pronouncements of the Moscow Congress are really intended to signify. That and nothing more is what is intended.

But the results of the gesture and the promise of reform may be entirely different than the Stalinist bureaucrats at the Congress intended. It has happened that way more than once in history. An outlived autocracy whose continued existence is made impossible by new objective conditions, can hasten its own downfall by inadequate concessions as well as by ineffective terror. Reforms granted in the hope of staving off a mass revolt can, by their revelation of fear and weakness, act as a spur to the revolt. This can also be the result of the new turn of events in the Soviet Union.

The Congress repudiation of the Stalin cult was prompted by internal Russian conditions, not by external ones. The whole world is laughing at the claim of Dulles that he caused the Moscow turn by shooting off his big mouth. The claim that the Washington imperialists compelled the repudiation of the Stalin cult; or that they care a hoot about it; or that, as a matter of fact, in the present world situation they are in any position to compel serious concessions of any kind from the Soviet bloc and the colonial people, is really enough to make the world laugh. Nobody in the world believes that — except Dulles; and he doesn't believe it either — he only says it.

Four Signs of the Trend

No, that part of the Congress — the repudiation of the Stalin cult — was determined by internal considerations. It was meant as a concession to the Soviet masses — and in part perhaps, as a concession to the democratic-minded workers in the capitalist world, and to the colonial masses, who have been repelled by the police-state terror of the Stalinist regime. It is meant above all as a gesture of conciliation with the deepest sentiments of the Soviet workers and the workers in the satellite countries — offered in the hope of heading off the gathering storm by the promise of reforms.

The Congress action is not the first indication of this storm. As I see it, we have already had four signs of the real trend of thought in the Soviet masses since the death of Stalin — two of them from the top and two from below.

The first indication, from the top, intended to forestall the masses, was the promise of reforms in the regime as soon as the successors of Stalin took over. Before they had the tyrant buried they were promising a relaxation of the Stalinist terror. Hardly a week had gone by when they announced that the big case against the Jewish doctors had been exposed as a frame-up and would not be carried through.

The first promises of reforms in the regime had a double effect. They not only encouraged the Soviet masses and the workers of the satellite countries to demand more. They also nourished some delusions in our own ranks about the "self-reform" of the Soviet bureaucracy, and prepared the way for the capitulatory treachery of a wretched little group of turncoats who have been snuggling up to Stalinism in the pages of the American Socialist.

The Soviet workers were not taken in by this counsel of treachery about the voluntary self-reform of the Stalinist bureaucracy. The second and third powerful indications of their real sentiments came from below. The East German workers rose in revolt in June, 1953. That was followed — in July, 1953, and as a result of it — by the mass strike in the Vorkuta forced labor camp. There can be no doubt that these momentous actions, lightning flashes of the coming revolutionary storm, were sparked by the death of Stalin and the first promises of reforms by his successors. The revolt of the East German workers and the strike of the prisoners in the Vorkuta forced labor camp, were deadly serious revolutionary actions — glorious harbingers of great events to come.

The fourth indication and recognition of the anti-Stalinist sentiment of the masses in the Soviet Union, comes now in a new set of promises from the top by the 20th Congress. They are far more sweeping than the original promises of three years ago, and their effects can be all the greater. We ought to see these decisions in their true light, as another incident in the interaction of movements from below and gestures from the top; as a possible, and indeed, probable factor in the acceleration of the whole process, which is moving toward the goal of a complete political revolution in the Soviet Union.

Will Capitalism Benefit?

The political revolution against Stalinism in the Soviet Union will give no support to the imperialists' dreams of a capitalist restoration. On the contrary, it is an essential part of the international revolution against capitalism, and will coincide with it. The destruction of Stalinism brings with it the destruction of capitalism.

Stalinism is the most monstrous perversion of the workers' movement ever known in history. It has been and remains the chief support of world capitalism, and the chief obstruction to the revolution in the labor movement of the world. But Stalinism's days are numbered now. The basic conditions for its emergence and triumph have radically changed, and are still changing in the same direction. The Russian workers — and this is the big new fact — the Russian workers today are no longer the weak and scattered mass of a few million, surrounded by a peasant sea, who succumbed to the Stalinist terror 30 years ago.

At that time their ranks had been decimated in the revolution and the long civil war and the war of intervention that followed it, and the survivors were worn out from their super-human exertions. At that time the international revolution, to which they had looked for aid and reinforcement, had been defeated and pushed back all along the line. World capitalism had attained a new stabilization after the first post-war upheavals, and the young Soviet Union was isolated and encircled by the capitalist powers. The monstrous phenomenon of Stalinism grew up out of these unfavorable conditions, and represented a national-reformist adaptation to them.

Stalinism, which impressed the philistines and the superficial observers as all-powerful because it ruled by terror, in reality arose in the Twenties out of the weakened position and the capitalist encirclement of the Soviet Union, and the defeats of the workers and colonial peoples on the international arena. Stalinism contributed more than anything else to the defeats of the international revolution, and it flourished on these defeats. Stalinism was the reactionary ideology of the ebb tide of the revolution.

All the old conditions that favored Stalinism in that time are changed now. The laws of permanent revolution, elucidated by Trotsky, proved to be stronger than the Stalinist terror and treachery. Despite Stalinism, isolated, backward peasant Russia, thanks to the revolution that gave it birth, has become the second industrial power in the world. Despite Stalinism and its theory of socialism in one country, the capitalist encirclement has been broken by the extension of the soviet system to Eastern Europe and China.

The colonial revolution is on the rise everywhere. The labor movement of Western Europe is strongly organized and militant, and since the end of the Second World War has been restrained from revolution only by Stalinism. Only the cursed influence of Stalinism stands today between the European workers and their victory over their own capitalism. But the great masses of the revolutionary workers, who have been deceived and befuddled by Stalinism, are also changing and are also demanding a different policy.

I pick up this issue of the Sunday New York Times. Here's a dispatch on the front page about the revolutionary developments in the ranks of the Stalinist party of Italy. It is headed "Dissident Red Bloc in Italy Protests 'Soft' Party Line" — and the first two paragraphs read as follows:

"ROME, March 3 — Six hundred avowed but rebellious Communists, wearing cloth caps and red scarves as a kind of uniform, marched through the streets of Rome this morning shouting protests against their party's leadership. They accused it of being inept and lacking in the courage to lead the Italian proletariat in a revolution against capitalism.

"The 600 marchers, who boasted that they represented 1,000,000 Communists, were delegates from all parts of Italy to a meeting of self-styled Democratic Communists. This is a movement that aims to lead communism back to its Marxist and Leninist line."

Good news from Italy, right after the good news from Russia!

Russian and American Workers

And the American workers, who were an atomized mass when Stalinism first came to power, without even trade union organization, except in a small stratum of skilled workers — these same American workers have arisen out of nothingness in the meantime. Out of a semi-revolution of their own in the Thirties, they have built a great trade union movement of 17 million, and are on the eve of the next advance to political and class consciousness.

While all these favorable changes take place in the camp of the working class and of the colonial people, the decaying system of world capitalism is plunged deeper into a crisis from which it cannot escape, and grows weaker by the day.

This radical change of the whole world situation is the objective basis, first, for the formal repudiation of the Stalin cult in words, and next, for the revolutionary overthrow of Stalinism in deeds. And there is the power to make good that program.

The Soviet proletariat today is a new young class of more than 48 million. Its ranks have been multiplied ten times in the 30 years since the first rise of Stalinism. It has become a skilled and trained working class, grown strong and self-confident in great achievements in the Second World War and in the post-war reconstruction. These 48 million Soviet workers are a mighty power. Taking all their resources together, they may be an even greater power than the American working class in the big events next on the agenda, for they are inspired by the memory and the tradition of three revolutions in the past 50 years.

The tradition of revolutionary victories in the past multiplies the powers and potentialities of the class. Once they begin to move again, after the long suppression and the long terror, they will shake the world again — as they did in 1917. The appearance of the mighty Soviet proletariat as an independent force on the international arena, which is now clearly foreshadowed, can qualitatively change class relationships on a world scale in favor of the workers and the colonial peoples.

Once again, as in 1917, the Russian workers can inspire a revival of the revolutionary movement in America. And the politicalization of the American workers, which would be the first result, in turn would add all that is needed for the victory of socialism on an international scale. That, plus the other forces already maturing, would signify the end of capitalism and the beginning of the socialist reorganization of the world.

The perspectives before us are breath-taking. And they are not the perspectives of a dim and distant future, but of the epoch in which we live and struggle now. We should take heart, for we have great allies. The Russian workers, breaking out of the prison of Stalinism and taking the road of international revolutionary action once again; great China and the revolutionary movement of the whole colonial world; and the mighty working class of the United States and Europe — here in these three forces is the invincible "Triple Alliance" which can change the world and rule the world, and make it safe for freedom, peace and socialism.

The end of the Stalin cult, which is a part of the revolutionary development in the world, signifies the beginning of the vindication of Trotsky. His theory of revolutionary development is finding confirmation in world events in one country after another — and now once again in Russia. All that he foresaw and explained to us,

(Continued on page 3)

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A New Threat to Freedom of Speech

The AFL-CIO United Automobile Workers took the lead March 17 in blasting the Johnson bill now before Congress. This omnibus bill, dealing with election practice, would among other things eliminate free debate on the air waves.

The bill is jointly sponsored by 63 senators of every section of the Republican and Democratic parties ranging from the so-called liberal senators, like Wayne Morse, to the extreme right wing of Eastland, McCarthy and Jenner.

Pushed by the lobby of the big radio and TV chains it is painted up in typical double talk as a bill to insure free electronic debate on public issues. This strangling measure would above all insure the elimination of any real debate from the air.

On the biggest issue agitating the country today, that of civil rights, this bill's passage would insure a conspiracy of silence.

The two Big Business parties through their principal candidates are cooking up a "gentlemen's agreement" not to permit civil rights to become an issue during the campaign. Both parties are so covered with guilt for the denial of basic civil rights to the Negro people that they want, above all, to keep this burning issue buried during the campaign.

At the present time under the provision of Section 315 of the Federal Communications Act any time given or sold to one candidate must be offered to all other candidates. This rule, which has been enforced more as an exception than otherwise, is, however, a legal right that the radio and TV chains are forced to recognize. Through this act, for example, millions of citizens were permitted to hear the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party.

These candidates brought to the air waves genuine debate and refreshing relief from the usual canned demagogy of the typical capitalist candidate. Invariably during these broadcasts the professional personnel of stations concerned with programming would remark on the introduction of real life whenever an SWP candidate would appear on the air. Now the bill if passed would make this appearance almost impossible. A series of clauses defining "political candidates" would to all intents and purposes eliminate all except the Democratic and Republican candidates from the air.

Radio and TV ownership is passing into fewer and fewer hands. And now, if the Johnson bill passes, the billionaire's monopoly of the air will join with the monopoly of political expression to choke off the last vestige of freedom from the air.

Faulkner Abandons Freedom Fight

William Faulkner, famous novelist and Mississippi liberal, has aired his views on the current struggle of the Negro people in "A Letter to the North," appearing in the March 5 Life magazine, and in an interview in the Reporter, March 26. In both, Faulkner plays — whether consciously or unconsciously is unimportant — the classically traitorous role of the liberal when the chips are down.

He warns the Negro people and their supporters to desist from further struggle for civil rights in the South. He threatens that if the pressure against the Southern Jim Crow system is not tapered off now federal intervention will result and then he and other Southern liberals, who have deplored and criticized certain aspects of the white-supremacy system, will be forced onto the side of the white supremacists. "As long as there's a middle road, all right, I'll be on it. But if it came to fighting I'd fight for Mississippi against the United States even if it meant going out into the streets and shooting Negroes," the Nobel prize author warns.

As the history of the workers' struggle in every country of the globe has shown repeatedly, liberals can serve the oppressors in ways the outright reactionaries can't.

A Senator Eastland can get no hearing from those in favor of civil rights, but a Faulkner can. Scorning and realizing the ineffectiveness of the "master race" and "Southern womanhood" claptrap that Eastland would use, Faulkner concedes that segregation is wrong morally and legally and that the Negroes are right in their demands for equality. He even goes further. Listen to this exchange in the Reporter interview:

"Q. Is the basic cause of race prejudice economic, in your opinion?

"A. Absolutely. To produce cotton we have to have a system of peonage. That is absolutely what is at the bottom of the situation.

"Q. Are the psychological rationalizations for prejudice something grafted onto the root?

"A. Yes. I would say that a planter who has a thousand acres wants to keep the Negro in a position of debt peonage and in order to do it he is going to tell the poor class of white folks that the Negro is going to violate his daughter. But all he wants at the back of it is a system of peonage to produce his cotton at the highest rate of profit.

The Northerner, reading these admissions of the injustice, illegality and brutal material base of Jim Crow, will tend to nod his head in agreement and admiration for Faulkner's candor. If unwary, he may, as was intended, continue nodding agreement with the conclusion — that the Negro people must now call a halt to their struggle.

Fortunately, the Negro masses are not going to pay any attention to Faulkner's advice. They are going to press the struggle for their centuries-long deferred rights. This is going to put on the spot not only Faulkner but the Northern liberals, who in the North are echoing his cry of "desist."

Faulkner's line is to place the blame on the Negro people for any further outrages committed by the racists. The argument will be that they brought it on themselves by their lack of "moderation" in demanding what is legally and morally theirs, thereby inciting the white supremacists, who are only doing what comes naturally in a racist society.

French Stalinism and Algeria

The workers of Algeria have broken with the French-dominated trade unions and have set up their own national labor movement. This represents a giant step forward and will help mobilize the organized workers in Algeria more effectively on the side of the war for independence.

Both the Stalinist controlled General Confederation of Labor (CGT) and the Socialist dominated Workers' Force (FO) have had the Algerian workers organized as mere appendages to the French Trade Unions. In North Africa both these organizations represent predominantly the interests of the privileged European workers. They have kept the leadership of the union tightly in the hands of the European labor aristocracy, excluding the Algerians from all posts of leadership and genuine representation.

USTA (Federation of Algerian Workers Unions) was set up on Feb. 14. In the statement of its General Secretary, M. Ramdani, it aims to fight not only for the economic interests of the Algerian workers but also in defense of general democratic freedom and human rights. It is significant that USTA, taking a stand against racism, invites European workers in North Africa to join.

By far the strongest French union federation is the Stalinist-led CGT. In breaking with the CGT, Algerian workers are demonstrating also what they think of the leadership of the French Communist Party and its stand on the burning issue of Algerian independence. Again and again the interests of the Algerian workers have been bargained away cynically by the Stalinist leaders as part of the Kremlin's diplomatic maneuvers with the French capitalists, who have exploited and segregated the Algerian workers.

Burned deep into the memory of Algerian workers is the fact that it was a Government of the Popular Front of France in 1936 that proscribed their organizations. The Communist Party had ministers sitting in the cabinet at that time. Algerians will never forget that in 1945 a C.P. member was minister in the French government that exacted 45,000 casualties from the Algerian fighters for independence.

That the contempt and hatred of the Algerian workers for the French Stalinist leaders is fully justified was proven once again on March 13. On that day, the large C.P. contingent of Deputies voted in the French National Assembly for the Mollet Government's request for extraordinary powers to deal with the Algerian situation in typical imperialist fashion. "Socialist" Mollet announced he would use repressive measures and rushed re-enforcements to the colonial garrison in Algeria as soon as the powers were granted. On March 21, Ambassador to France C. Douglas Dillon put U.S. imperialism's stamp of approval on Mollet's bloody program.

E. D. Nixon -- Trade Unionist, Negro Leader

By William Bundy

While in Birmingham, Ala., three weeks ago, I spoke to a white man who was well informed on the events and personalities in the Montgomery anti-segregation protest movement. In the course of a discussion on the role of the labor movement in the civil rights struggle, he told me that he knew of an old time Negro trade unionist in Montgomery who was, as much as any other single person, "at the bottom of the whole movement there."

This statement did not come as a complete surprise to me. Much has been written on the identity of interest between the labor movement and the Negro people. In 1948, the noted French journalist, Daniel Guerin, author of "Fascism and Big Business," toured the South in preparation for an exhaustive sociological study of the United States. His book was published in its French edition in 1951 and is soon to be released in an English-language edition. One passage says:

"I met a number of them (Negro trade union leaders) in the South, and I admired their class consciousness, their maturity, their dynamic quality. It is incontestable to me that a new generation of Negro cadres is developing, realistic and modern, formed in the tough school of trade unionism, and that the effects of this germination will soon be fully felt both in labor and in the Negro community. . . .

"A living example of this evolution," Guerin wrote, "was presented to me by E.D. Nixon of Montgomery, Alabama, a vigorous colored union militant who was the leading spirit in his city both of the local union of Sleeping Car Porters and the local branch of the NAACP. What a difference from other branches of the Association, which are controlled by dentists, pastors, and undertakers! Nixon has both feet on the ground. He is linked to the masses. He speaks their language. He has organized the work of race defense with the precision and method of a trade unionist. Men like E. D. Nixon (to name only him) incarnate the alliance which has at last been consummated between the race and labor."

The man of whom my white friend told me that night in

E. D. NIXON

Birmingham, Ala., was none other than E. D. Nixon! I met him later at a press interview held March 3 in his comfortable brick house on a hill in Montgomery.

Mr. Nixon, who still works as a sleeping car porter on the run between Montgomery and Chicago, is a slim, dark, very tall rawboned man. **He introduced** the reporters to Mrs. Nixon, sat us down in the living room, and got right to the point: "You just start asking questions," he said.

"Are you receiving any help from the union movement in this bus boycott, Mr. Nixon?"

"We don't call it a boycott," he said in his outspoken manner. "This is a protest against a lot of things over the years. It is deep-rooted. We always called it a protest.

"Yes, we get some help. Judging from the size of a contribution we got from an Auto Workers union up in Detroit they must be interested in us. They didn't just send it either, they brought it down."

"Are there many union people active in the protest movement here?"

"We've got all kinds of people in the Montgomery Improvement Association. We've got ministers and school teachers, and doctors and business men and labor people and union members. **Mrs. Ida Mae Cardwell is on the financial committee. She is financial** secretary of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Local 490 **here."**

He smiled a little as he said, "I kind of think of that local as my baby. I went way out on a limb to help those people get organized."

WOMEN SPARKED FIGHT

"We heard that mostly women go to the protest meetings. Is that true, Mr. Nixon?"

"Oh, I think it's about half and half. Of course, the women are really in there. We never had a man arrested for refusing to give up his seat on a bus or anything. They just got off, or something. The women were the ones who made the stand."

He spoke of the long fight for civil rights over the years. "I tried to register to vote for ten years, and finally had to sue in 1944. In spite of the court ruling, the battle for the ballot has not been won . . . In 1944 we had 208 registered voters who were Negroes, and part of them had left town or died. Since that time we get about 3,000 a year to go down to register, but we've still only got 2,100 Negroes registered to vote in the whole county. . . . They pull all kinds of stuff to keep us from getting registered. You go down and fill out the application with 21 questions on it. If you are a Negro, they tell you your application must be processed and you'll hear from them. Sometimes you do, mostly you don't."

He raised his long arms and let them fall saying, "The white man just goes on doing wrong to keep from doing right." He said this many times during the interview.

"Where do you think this protest is going to go, Mr. Nixon?"

"I wish I knew the answer. I think the bus company wants to settle, but the City Commission and the Mayor wouldn't let them. This all could have been settled if they'd have just sat down like reasonable people. We met time after time over this bus situation, but we got nothing but the runaround.

"KEEP WALKING UNTIL . . ."

"When we filed the suit around Feb 1 or 2 we brought a motion to go back on the buses and fight it out in the courts, but it was too late for that. One woman jumped up and said 'I'm gonna keep walkin' until I can sit in them seats I been standin' alongside of for all these years.' Everybody joined in with her and that was the end of that."

"Do you think there is going to be any more bomb throwing and so on to scare people, Mr. Nixon?"

He sat forward in his chair saying: "Now let's have this understood right here, they don't throw bombs just to scare people." He showed us the brick pillar that deflected a bomb which had exploded in his front yard. **"If that bomb hadn't just happened to hit that pillar and bounced off, it would have come right through the window into this room where Mrs. Nixon was sitting." He described the screen which had deflected the bomb thrown at Rev. Martin Luther King's front window. If it hadn't been for that screen, he said, that bomb would have exploded inside the house where Rev. King's wife and infant child were sitting at the time.**

"Well, do you think there is going to be any more of that?"

"It's hard to say. The only way we can sleep here at night is to take the phone off the hook, we get so many threatening calls at night. They aren't scaring anyone though. Them days are gone. People don't scare anymore."

"Do you get any support from whites?"

"Not much. I can see their point. Unless a gang of them come out they are really up against it." He told of a white woman who was forced to leave town by harassment from White Citizens Councils because she had openly sympathized with the protest movement.

UNION POLICY

"Do you think the AFL-CIO should take a stronger stand in favor of the announced anti-segregation policy?"

"Why yes. That's the only thing to do. The AFL has been bad on this thing, but the CIO came in and organized the Negroes and whites together. Traditions don't change themselves, you've got to change them. The recent railroad strike was the best chance the Negro railroad workers ever had to get out of being 'auxiliaries.' They needed us in that strike. That was the time to change things. Some people have a hard time seeing an opportunity when it shows up. When the Alabama teachers pulled out of the national organization because of its desegregation stand, that was the time for the Negro teachers to snap up the charter, and build a non-segregated union . . . but some people have a hard time seeing their openings."

"Do you think white workers will go along with desegregated unions?"

"I think so, they've got to. The South will never be free until the Negro frees himself and frees the white man . . . Big business has kept the poor white man fooled for years by telling him that they could get Negroes to work for less . . ."

He told a story about the organization of a plant in Montgomery. "The Coplin plant had trouble getting organized . . . they asked me to speak to the people out there . . . there was a white man working there that they followed, and he was keeping them from being organized."

He told about checking up on this man before the meeting. He saw where the man lived. "It was an old wood shack up on blocks with outhouses in back, and his kids had to walk through the mud to get to school. At the meeting, I just talked right to that man, and that's what I talked about . . . If they think so much of you why don't they pay you enough to live in a decent house, why don't they give you enough money to live decent? . . . I live in a brick house . . . I make good money and I belong to a union . . .

"When I was done he got up and he used a word I don't like but this is what he said: 'I never thought I'd see the day I'd be talked into joining a union by a nigger, but I'm convinced. Let's join.' "

ALABAMA BOYCOTT LAW

Nixon spoke angrily now, "Why if the State of Alabama convicts us on this boycott law what's going to happen to the next strike? It's going to be illegal, that's what, white or black, it won't have a chance."

"How is it that you have been able to stick it out in this city for so many years, Mr. Nixon, in spite of your stand on civil rights and unions?"

"Well, I've got a good job. If they were going to fire me they'd have done it a long time ago, so I figured I didn't have to worry about that. We've been threatened so many times I used to get a little disappointed when I didn't get one of those phone calls for a couple of weeks. But I've got a wonderful wife. She goes along all the way."

He said that now that there is a big movement in Montgomery fighting for justice for Negroes. There is a lot of work involved, but it is not as lonely as 20 years ago.

. . . Foster's Explanation

(Continued from page 1)

in nor to tear him to political shreds, as some in our ranks seem inclined to do." Words which he may soon regret having uttered.

STALIN'S DISCIPLE

Foster owes a great deal to Stalin. For approximately 30 years he has been a faithful disciple and "sponsor of the Stalin cult" in the American CP. He never failed "to rush indignantly to the defense of Stalin," since that day in October 1928 when he joined with Lovestone and Browder to illegally expel from the Communist Party the Trotskyist left opposition group led by James P. Cannon.

The Cannon group asked only that they be allowed to discuss **within the party** Trotsky's criticism of the Draft Program of the Communist Party, adopted in 1928 as the Stalinist world program at the Sixth Congress of the Communist International. Foster knew that Stalin was intent upon suppressing Trotsky's criticism as he was informed that the document in question had to be smuggled out of the Soviet Union in order to get it before the CP members here.

He made his decision then, and has never deviated since, to become part and parcel of the Stalin cult, whose hallmark was the destruction of internal party democracy, suppression and murder of intransigent communist leaders and members who dared oppose his views, and the creation of the cult of infallibility.

And what does Foster say now?

On the occasion of Foster's recent 75th birthday he was eulogized by other Stalinist leaders in tones reminiscent of the sickening idolatry showered on Stalin before his death. So much so, that a prominent fellow-traveller, Ring Lardner, Jr., was constrained to demur in a letter to the editor published in the Daily Worker of March 18. "I wonder," said Lardner, "if some of the rather maudlin testaments to William Z. Foster on his recent birthday are really the most mature and effective way of acknowledging the respect due America's outstanding working-class leader." Lardner does not seem to understand that the cult of Stalin in Russia required the cult of Foster here and the leader cult everywhere in the world Stalinist movement.

In the Daily Worker of March 19 Foster was eulogized by Eugene Dennis in the unrestrained language of a cultist. Among other things he lauded Foster for "his noteworthy contributions to Marxist theory and practice, on his creative work as a Marxist educator and historian." Dennis waxed lyrical over "our National Chairman (who) is a true scientist: having mastered the social science of the working class." And more in the same vein.

FOSTER'S 'EXPLANATION'

Now for a Marxist "theoretician, educator and historian," and a "true scientist," to boot, it should be a simple matter to explain the origin, meaning and development of the Stalin cult, especially after 30 pregnant years of deep immersion in its womb. Let's listen!

"Very probably," pontificates Foster in the Daily Worker, March 16, "all this will be made clear in the review of this past period now getting under way in the Soviet Union." And if this doesn't satisfy your hunger for a scientific Marxist explanation, Foster adds: "We may be confident, that from this situation, the Communist Party of the USSR will draw valuable and constructive political and organizational lessons." How consoling!

What Foster is here preaching is what he has been practicing for 30 years and what is still the poisonous source of the Stalin cult. Wait, he says, in his truest scientific manner, wait until Moscow has told us what to say and do and then that will be passed along as the distilled essence of Marxist wisdom. Foster stands ready to accept the word and deed of Stalin's closest collaborators in Moscow now, as he did before. For Foster nothing basic has changed. The Stalin cult is dead — long live the Khrushchev cult!

But the workers of Moscow and throughout Russia are dissatisfied with explanations that do not explain. They are raising the same point that Clark directs at Ulbricht. A New York Times dispatch, March 19, reports that workers in the Soviet Union are seeking an answer to the question: "What were the present leaders of the Communist Party doing during the years of Stalin's misrule and crimes?" A pertinent question and one that will have to be answered.

For nigh onto 30 years the members of the American Communist Party have been taught to accept without thinking. Now they are told that this method was the result of a cult of infallibility deliberately fostered by Stalin and his henchmen which has visited infinite harm upon the working class movement and endangered the defense of the Soviet Union. If serious about fighting cultism, CP members will have to begin to learn to think. And in this connection there is no better way to close than to quote a statement by Lenin which appeared on the masthead of the very first issue of The Militant, November 15, 1928:

"It is necessary that every member of the Party should study calmly and with the greatest objectivity, first the substance of the differences of opinion, and then the development of the struggles within the Party. Neither the one nor the other can be done unless the documents of both sides are published. He who takes somebody's word for it is a hopeless idiot, who can be disposed of with a simple gesture of the hand."

. . . Stalin Cult

(Continued from page 2)

his disciples, is being demonstrated in life as true. And we, who have fought long years under his banner, salute his glorious name again today. We are surer than ever that we have been right. We have more reason than ever to fight without compromise for the full program of Trotskyism. And we have more reason than ever for confidence in victory.

Our victory will be more than the victory of a faction or a party — for the factional and party struggle is and has been the expression of the international struggle of classes. The vindication and victory of Trotskyism will coincide with, and fully express, the victory of the international working class, in the struggle against the capitalist exploiters and the Stalinist traitors, for the socialist reorganization of the world.

World Events

BRITISH PARATROOPERS ON CYPRUS used tear gas to break up demonstrations of Cypriotes of Greek descent protesting the exile of Archbishop Makarios. A general strike, March 11, paralyzed the island and remained solid in the face of British threats to use force. Greek Cypriotes make up four-fifths of the island's population. They want **enosis** — unity with Greece. Makarios is the official leader of the **enosis** movement. The British Government, which has made Cyprus its command post in the Middle East, exiled the archbishop to a small island in the Indian Ocean. The banning of Makarios also touched off demonstrations by workers and students in major cities of Greece and clashes with the police. The British flag was burned in Athens and Salonika, and the government posted soldiers around the British and U.S. embassies. Slogans on banners included, "America help us or get out of Greece!" and "Englishmen equal Nazis, Eden equals Hitler!"

* * *

IN SOUTH AFRICA, "apartheid," or race segregation, is being "modified," according to John Hughes in the March 15 Christian Science Monitor. The program of Prime Minister Strijdom, on the basis of which he won the 1953 elections, was to separate completely the Negroes from the whites, including their economy. However, "practical" difficulties stand in the way of complete territorial segregation — namely, the fact that Negroes perform most of the labor in South Africa. "Indeed," says Hughes, "in a country where most whites particularly the farmers . . . are more than anxious to retain their African labor in white areas, the prospect of a segregation slowdown which would assure them labor but which would ensure continued white supremacy might win even more support for the government. Likeliest outcome, therefore, is continued utilization of non-white labor in white areas, with continued withholding of political advancement from non-whites on the grounds that they do not belong there." **In short, South Africa will have** the same Jim Crow system as the U.S. in the South.

* * *

BRITISH AND SOUTH AFRICAN governments are scheduling talks "to improve the military defense of sub-Saharan [that is, Negro] Africa," reports the March 15 Christian Science Monitor. The talks are motivated by fear of Soviet aid offers to such countries as Liberia and strong Egyptian bids for leadership of the African anti-imperialist struggle. Radio Cairo has been conducting a steady propaganda campaign "for the liberation of this great and wealthy continent from the imperialist foreigners."

* * *

IN FINLAND, a three-weeks-long general strike ended March 19. Though terms of settlement were not announced, indications are the 200,000 members of the Trade Union Federation who waged the strike won substantial gains. At the start unions had demanded a 6.7% wage increase to make up for food price rises. The employers association finally conceded this raise on March 16. The labor leaders then demanded an additional 5 to 9% increase to be included in new collective bargaining agreements, with the employers offering up to 3% as of that date. The strike halted all transportation and mail deliveries. Newspapers were shut down, as were industries employing metal workers, machinists, paper and pulp workers.

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THE MILITANT

VOLUME XX — MONDAY, MARCH 26, 1956 — NUMBER 13

The Negro Struggle

By John Thayer

The Big Question

Cowardly silence or incoherent mumbling by Northern politicians followed the defiant manifesto of 100 Southern Senators and Congressmen pledging reversal of the Supreme Court's school desegregation decision. This shows how little the pro-civil rights protestations of Northern liberals before Negro and labor audiences weigh against their corrupt alliance with the white-supremacists in Congress.

Some Negro leaders are now urging an end to the 20-year support of the Democrats and a switch to the Republican ticket in the coming elections. Negro Republicans are redoubling their propaganda with telling effect. What answer, for example, is there to a cartoon in the March 24 Afro-American which proclaims: "Beware — Every vote for a Democratic Senator is a vote for Sen. Eastland"? It is indisputable that the election of a Lehman or Wayne Morse may give Democrats the majority which means Democratic organization of the Senate — and hence Eastland as head of the important Judiciary Committee and racists heading practically every other committee. The same goes for the House. A Democratic president would permit the Southern wing to get its snout further into the executive department.

Some leaders are toying with a plan to switch the Negro vote to the Republican Party. The New York Herald-Tribune on March 19 front-paged an article entitled: "Negro Leaders Veer to Republican Party." It mentions among others L. E. Austin, editor of the militant Negro paper, the Carolina Times of Durham, N. C., and an unnamed "top figure in the NAACP."

Such men, disgusted with the Democrats, have fallen for the utopian and reactionary idea of ordering the Negro vote from one party to another thus playing a balance of power game in hope of winning concessions. They overlook the fact that a goodly part of the Negro struggle is for economic equality and improvement. The Republican Party is the open and avowed party of Big Business — a stronghold of the FEPC-hating employers and the real-estate interests. The Negro people are overwhelmingly workers and they will not be conned into voting anti-labor. They may be fooled, like white workers, into voting for the anti-labor Democratic party because of its Northern liberal window dressing but they will not follow leaders to the Republicans.

Who really runs the present Congress? The Southern Democrats and the reactionary Republicans! Who played footsie with Gov. Byrnes and the Dixiecrat racists? Eisenhower! What about the two Republican Congressmen from North Carolina? They, too, signed the Southern manifesto.

Rep. Adam Clayton Powell has raised the possibility of a third party. This would be a good first step. If the all-important Negro vote were cast for an independent third party then the labor leaders would soon have to join it or resign themselves to getting even less crumbs from the Democrats than they now do.

Whether there will be such a third party in 1956 is problematical. But it is certain the Socialist Workers Party will be in the race. Enemies of Jim Crow who cannot stomach either the Democrats or Republicans can make a significant and effective protest by voting SWP.

. . . Montgomery Fighters Still Undaunted

(Continued from page 1)

their right to a jury trial and the verdict will be rendered by presiding judge Eugene W. Carter. Conviction can bring six months in jail and a $1,000 fine under an anti-boycott law passed in 1921 as a weapon against union coal miners.

The defense denies the boycott charges, describing their organization as a voluntary movement of Negro people who are tired of getting "second class treatment for a first class bus fare." They want to be treated courteously on the buses and to be seated on a first come, first served basis. They want Negro drivers hired on bus lines running into predominantly Negro neighborhoods.

After the defense invoked their legal right to demand a separate trial for each of the 90 defendants, the prosecution elected to try Rev. King first. Presentation of the testimony against him is still going on. No defense witnesses have as yet been called to the stand.

PROSECUTION STRATEGY

Any unionist experienced in strikes and labor injunction proceedings will quickly recognize the prosecution tactics as time-tested union-busting methods now directed against the Negro movement. They fall under the usual blanket charges of "conspiracy" under which each defendant is held liable for all acts alleged against the movement as *such*.

Officers of the Improvement Association are compelled to take the stand, bringing their records with them. A banker is called to testify on the Association's transactions with him. A resolution adopted at a protest meeting is introduced. An official of the bus company testifies that Negro patronage has dropped off 95 percent. Testimony is introduced to show the existence of a car pool serving former bus riders. A total of three Negroes, from a population of 50,000, are brought to the stand to testify that they have been "threatened" for riding the buses. Several bus drivers claim shots were fired into their buses. A special detective put on the city payroll since the protest started relates his findings in an "investigation" of the situation.

At each stage the defense has protested this heaping up of allegations against one man, Rev. King. Voicing most of the objections to this procedure under the rules governing "conspiracy," attorney Peter Hall of Birmingham said ". . . we know the latitude is wide, but just how wide?" His objections have been repeatedly overruled by the judge.

FARRELL DOBBS

If the defendants are convicted, an appeal seems certain while the protest movement continues. Such is the mood of the Negro people of this city. They say they have been patiently waiting 91 years to get their democratic rights and they don't intend to wait another 91 years while "moderation" forestalls any hasty upsetting of "traditions older than the republic." They are tired of being pushed around. They want results now, not "gradually."

The Negro people of Montgomery are far from being alone in that view. As the trial opened here a Negro pastor in New Orleans said, "It is Montgomery today, but it could be any place tomorrow, even here in New Orleans." Similarly the eyes and hopes of Negroes throughout the country are on this local protest movement charting a vanguard course for mass action in defense of Negro rights. Not only their hopes but also their loyal support, materially as well as morally, is with the Montgomery fighters.

The main thing missing here is the unqualified [illegible] national union movement which in its own self-interest should rally behind the Negro protest action. Labor should take heed at the growth of the White Citizens Councils which are more than anti-Negro. None other than the AFL-CIO executive council has termed them anti-union as well. And they are right, for the employers are using statements by White Citizens Council leaders to oppose unionization of the South.

Last February Senator Eastland, notoriously anti-Negro and anti-union, came here to sanction and inspire the WCC. Where then are George Meany and Walter Reuther, the heads of the AFL-CIO? Why aren't they here to back up the Negro opponents of the WCC and the progressive white workers who want to find a basis for solidarity with the Negro workers?

In court here an anti-boycott law is being sharpened by use on the Negroes for future attacks on the Southern union drive. Why then aren't the top union lawyers here to solidarize themselves with the Negro defense counsel in fighting the law as an unconstitutional device of the white ruling class?

White unionists are being drawn into the WCC through lack of leadership from the national officials of their own organizations. Progressive whites who want to follow a correct union policy are intimidated by the WCC. Where are the scores of union organizers who should be in this city giving leadership to the white workers, drawing them into a solid alliance with their Negro class brothers in opposition to the open shop?

Victory for the bus protest movement means an advance for unionism in the South. A defeat would mean a bad setback for the unions as well. Why then isn't material aid from the union movement pouring into Montgomery to help maintain the car pool which is so vital to the protest movement?

The South will never be organized until the Negro workers are brought into the unions. Today one in every four Southern workers is a Negro. As the rise of the CIO demonstrated, their full allegiance to the unions can be won, their full fighting power [illegible], only if they can come into the labor movement on the basis of full equality.

Negro fighters with the courage of those sparking the protest movement here will never be impressed, much less inspired, by union leaders who talk cautiously and act timidly, as do the top leaders of the AFL-CIO. They are men and women in whom the vital substance of vision, grit and determination flows. They want and need and will follow leaders similarly endowed.

The fight for Negro rights and the campaign to organize the South are inseparably connected. The unions and the Negro movement must march **forward** shoulder to shoulder, mingling their powerful voices in the twin battle slogans:

Full equality to the Negro people!

Complete unionization of the South!

Civil Rights Top Issue In '56, Says Simon

CHICAGO, March 17 — "The issue of civil rights is the main issue in the 1956 election," stated Jean Simon, author of the pamphlet, Desegregation! Labor's Stake in the Struggle for Negro Equality, at a well-attended public meeting sponsored by the Socialist Workers Party. "In spite of the Democratic and Republican politicians the Negro movement has made it the Number One issue. The Negro masses have entered the political scene . . . in battles like the Trumbull Park fight which have exposed the hypocrisy of the Northern Democrats for two years."

Calling for independent political action which in 1956 means a vote for the SWP candidates, Mrs. Simon pointed out that "it is this danger of independent political action that really worries the segregationists." As an indication of their fears she quoted from the Wall Street Journal which stated: "While the Montgomery bus boycott has become a well-publicized stalemate, it is worth examination because of two things it reveals — the tendency of a boycott's goals to enlarge after it gets started and its daily evidence that a Southern Negro community can stage an effective mass movement. 'This one is economic, but the next one may be political or social,' observes a white businessman who classes himself among the South's moderates.' "

A lively discussion followed the speaker's presentation with special interest shown in the prospects of a union drive in the South.

New York Forum Aids Bus Boycott In Montgomery

NEW YORK, March 18 — The contagious effect of militant solidarity in struggle was reflected here tonight at a meeting of the Militant Forum in support of the inspiring Montgomery movement to drive Jim Crow off the buses.

Seventy-five people white and Negro, turned out in a heavy snow storm to hear eyewitness reports from Montgomery by Dr. Lonnie Cross, Negro educator, and Militant staff writer Tom Kerry. The audience response was expressed in a contribution of $75.00 which has been forwarded to the Montgomery Improvement Association.

Both speakers stressed the need for organized labor to get behind the Montgomery civil rights fighters and to rush them urgently needed defense funds. Contributions should be sent to the Montgomery Improvement Association, c/o Rev. M. L. King, Dexter Ave. Baptist Church, Montgomery, Ala.

Lesson of Dalton, Georgia

By George Lavan

In two previous installments we have described the founding of the newspaper, The Southerner, by Don West and the Church of God of the Union Assembly in Dalton, Georgia. It achieved a considerable circulation not only in the local, low-pay, open-shop textile area but throughout the South. While people in the South, eager for unions and opposed to racism, welcomed this voice of the progressive aspirations of the poor white workers and farmers, the forces of reaction marked it and its editor out as prime targets.

Naturally the spearhead of the attack was the local textile mill owners who had a large material stake in defeating the union drive which was inspired by The Southerner. They used the local newspapers, radio, veterans organizations and out-of-state McCarthyites, such as Edgar C. Bundy, American Legion witch hunter from Illinois, in a red-baiting campaign against West and his newspaper. Yet this did not turn the trick.

TEXTILE UNION

Initially the conservative leaders of the CIO Textile Workers Union, whose drive in Dalton was based on the spade work done by The Southerner, displayed a tendency to shy away from West and his paper, hoping thus to evade the terrific attack which had been launched. Though in private they spoke highly of West, they thought discretion the better part of valor. Grim reality soon made them change their minds.

The attack on West was really aimed at the union drive. Ruthless anti-labor tactics of the local bosses, intervention of Governor Marvin Griffin's (Talmadge machine) special squad of scab-herding state troopers in a small strike which had broken out, and screaming red-baiting of the CIO union itself — all this showed the CIO union leaders that they were in the same battle as West and that it would be foolish to let the enemy split them up.

Moreover, The Southerner and the core of militants in the Church of God were a tower of strength to the embattled pickets at General Latex. Finally, the pro-labor membership of the church was the solid base of the organizing drive in all the plants.

This decision on the part of the leaders of the textile drive was undoubtedly hastened by the obvious fact that West, instead of sinking in the estimation of the workers, held his own under the fierce attack or maybe even gained in their regard. While elements in town, mainly in the middle class, did not dare be seen speaking to him, and while perhaps some workers also refrained from advertising their feeling of sympathy towards him, the members of the pro-labor church rallied around him and so did the new union members unconnected with the Church of God of the Union Assembly.

ECONOMIC PRESSURE

Although the two Dalton newspapers blasted away at West in every issue and the grand jury ominously investigated for months, the ranks of the workers held firm. What did turn the trick for the employers was economic pressure.

The Church of God has considerable business interests in the Dalton area. Under guidance of 76-year-old Rev. Charlie Pratt, founder and undisputed leader of the pro-labor sect, church funds had long been invested in farms, a restaurant, motel, filling station, super-market, chain of auction houses, etc.

The businesses were all solid and for years had regularly been granted credit by the local banks. In November all the banks in Dalton refused Rev. Pratt the accustomed credit for his enterprises. It was understood that the ultimatum was "get rid of West if you want credit."

On Jan. 10, Rev. Pratt told the leaders of the church that the previous night he had been awakened by a vision in which God spoke to him about Communism. He immediately had written out a non-Communist oath to be taken by all church officials. He had called the county prosecutor in the middle of the night and asked him to administer the oath at the church services that week-end. West objected that this was capitulating to pressure — the Dalton press had just come out with a six-page supplement devoted to the attack on West — but agreed to take the oath to preserve church unity.

On the appointed day the church was full. The proceedings were broadcast. The prosecutor — of ill-fame among the workers because of his attempts to railroad the head of the CIO drive and eight strike leaders — entered, accompanied by the editor of Dalton's two papers. Over one hundred ministers and officials of the church marched onto the big stage.

NO INFORMER

Before administering the oath the prosecutor asked, knowing full well that this applied to West, if any present had ever refused to answer questions before a grand jury. West replied that he had. The prosecutor then announced that he would give the oath to everyone present but West. He would let West take the oath only after he swore to appear before the new grand jury Monday morning and answer all questions that it might see fit to put to him.

West objected that this was not the oath agreed upon and appealed to Rev. Pratt to back him up. Pratt refused and West explained to the audience why he refused to do what the prosecutor demanded, how it would force him into the position of informing on other people and why the Fifth Amendment is a bulwark of freedom against tyranny.

Pratt, remaining adamant that West should agree to the prosecutor's conditions, the editor of The Southerner resigned from the church. West soon announced his plan to carry on the fight by starting up a New Southerner and is at present engaged in raising the necessary funds for publication.

This chapter in the emerging struggle of the poor white workers of the Deep South is very instructive. It shows that there is a definite, receptive audience among the white workers of the South for a pro-labor, anti-racist newspaper. It shows that the mass of the workers in a typical Southern mill town could not be stampeded by six months of witch-hunt and racist propaganda. **It also shows that there are some courageous, self-sacrificing Southern whites, who scorn the tradition of deploring conditions in hushed tones in their living rooms. These elements are fighters eager to organize the white workers and farmers against their oppressors and their oppressors' most deadly weapon — racism.**

(End of a series.)

Automation: New Industrial Revolution?

By Robert Chester

Does automation herald a "Second Industrial Revolution" as many industrial experts claim? To answer this it is necessary to review the "first" Industrial Revolution.

The Industrial Revolution flowered in the first half of the 19th century. It was prepared by the breakdown of feudal landlord-peasant relations that had kept the peasant tied to the land, and production geared mainly to local needs.

LANDLESS PEASANTS

Rapidly expanding world trade in the 18th century spurred the demand for large quantities of manufactured goods which necessarily led to the organization of the large-scale workshop and the expansion of capitalism. Peasants were driven off the land and driven into towns, forming a helpless mass of paupers. They provided the new industrial work force for the growing industries.

These vast changes spurred a series of technical advances, crowned by the invention of a flexible, easily controlled source of power, the steam engine. Parallel with this grew a new level of machine industry and technology.

In their meteoric growth to supply the expanding world market the capitalists, as a class, acquired new stature. They reorganized the whole industrial system, secured their economic domination over every section of the economy and adapted the political life of the country to their needs. Thus was instituted the system of modern capitalism that we know today. England became the classic example of this development.

The plight of the workers in the Industrial Revolution is one of the blackest stories in the history of civilization. Whole families were forced to labor 14 to 18 hours a day. Woman and child labor often displaced adult males because they were cheaper. The growth of a whole generation of stunted Englishmen forced the growth of unionism as a necessary defense. The government was forced to enact laws to preserve the nation against the rapaciousness of the individual manufacturers.

The Industrial Revolution therefore was not simply the "revolution of dark satanic mills," as Norbert Weiner claims, but a social and political as well as technical revolution. This process was made the subject of a most careful, penetrating and brilliant analysis by Karl Marx.

LABOR THEORY OF VALUE

Marx's labor theory of value, which capitalist economists have vainly tried to refute for over 100 years, establishes that only the application of useful, living labor adds new value to a product. The worker, while performing the necessary technical work to transform raw material into a useful product, at the same time adds a social quantity, value, in proportion to the amount of time spent. The capitalist, under whose control he works, is not interested in the social benefits of the product, only in the quantity of profit he can gain.

The capitalist provides the plant, machines, other tools and raw materials. The value of this "past labor" does not add new value, as does the labor of the worker. It is only transmitted without change to the product. Thus if a machine has an average life of 10,000 operations then one ten-thousandth part of its value is transmitted to each article worked on. This "past labor" was termed by Marx "constant capital." The wage paid to the worker was termed "variable capital" and became the source of a deeper analysis.

Treated as any other commodity, workers were hired, not on the value of what they produced, but on the value of what was necessary to produce them, train them and maintain their families. The value of the workers' "labor power," their standard of living, was a result of both the productive level of the entire system and the struggle of the workers to raise it against the opposition of the employers. The difference between the wages paid and the new value produced, the "surplus value," was the source of profit for the capitalist.

Competition for the market and the quest for profit compel the capitalist to introduce new machines and methods of production. If with a new machine the amount of labor time, variable capital, is reduced in each article, the rate of profit for the capitalist tends to go up, that is until his competitor catches up or surpasses him. Then a new race begins. The driving force of the new system of production provides the motive power for this process.

MACHINE APPENDAGE

The Industrial Revolution saw the first general use of machine production. The former hand worker was converted into a machine operator whose activities were governed by the needs of the machine. With that conversion a social change took place as well. Whereas previously the individual owned his own tools and sold his own products the worker now became an appendage to the machine with no control over the product. He was the wage slave of the private owner of the machines, the capitalist. The implications of this social change were also put under scientific analysis by Marx.

Free from human physical limits, the production process was viewed in a new light — from the requirements of production alone. Machines and factories grew larger and more complex as workers were displaced from one operation after another. Proving that this process was inherent in capitalist production, Marx projected the development of the factory into a "huge automaton" as its most perfected form. All that is needed is to add an "i" and dot it to bring the analysis up to date, including automation.

Automation marks a new qualitative technical stage in the process of production. The worker no longer is in the role of machine operator but is shifted to the role of machine supervisor and maintainer. However the social position and role of the worker is not changed one bit. He still has to sell his labor power on the shrinking labor market.

The capitalists find themselves confronted with a different problem. As the investment in new machinery, constant capital, rises in proportion to wages, variable capital, the new value added by the workers, falls and the rate of profit tends to fall. Automation, with its huge capital investments for far fewer workers, causes a rapid speeding up of this declining tendency in the rate of profit. The capitalist must find the means to expand his market as well as increase his rate of profit through cutting wages. Automation therefore, instead of providing an improved standard of living for the workers, drives the capitalist into a wholesale attack upon it.

CRISIS DEEPENED

The tremendous leap in productivity causes production to increase faster than the market can absorb the products. This factor is bound to aggravate the conditions that lead to the periodic crises under capitalism. The cycle of boom, bust and recovery has always been paralleled by the cycle of hiring, displacement and widespread unemployment that periodically ravaged the workingclass.

Economic crises afford the bigger capitalists the opportunity to shake out the small competitors. Domination by ever larger corporations together with the banks, promoted the growth of huge monopolies and converted the system of "free competition" into a fiction.

Production, which once was the province of the individual artisan, working with his own tools and selling his own product, has moved progressively toward becoming a social process involving the cooperation of thousands of workers in many parts of the country, or the world. Automation does not change any of these factors, only speeds the process a little faster.

Automation therefore is not a "Second Industrial Revolution" but is a final stage of the process begun with the "first" Industrial Revolution.

UAW HEARS ROSA PARKS

DETROIT, March 16 — Mrs. Rosa Parks, the 43-year-old seamstress from Montgomery Ala. whose arrest for refusing to relinquish her seat on a bus there precipitated the Montgomery protest movement spoke at the Ford Local 600 United Auto Workers hall today.

"Our fight is not just for Montgomery Negroes to get a seat on the bus," she told about 300 members and guests of the Frame and Cold Header Unit of the giant Ford Rouge local. "As long as we just took segregation," she said. "the Southern white man had the excuse that the Negroes were satisfied, but we are staying off the buses to show the whole world that we aren't satisfied.

"We want to know now — right now, not later on when we have passed off the scene — that we are full American citizens. . . The nations of the world, especially the Asiatic nations are watching this. They are dark peoples too. If injustice against Negroes were ended here in America, all that money that is sent over-seas might do more good than it does now," she said.

Six hundred dollars, collected from the unit's Negro and white workers in the shop during the week, was presented to Mrs. Parks for the Montgomery protesters. She told the unionists that the protesters are not discouraged, but that they appreciate encouragement and need financial help.

Money for the Montgomery protesters may be sent to the Montgomery Improvement Association, c/o Rev. M. L. King Jr., 309 S. Jackson, Montgomery, Ala.

"We have decided to go on no matter what the cost. Even if it takes our lives, we are going on to the end," she said.

Mrs. Parks, who has been active in the Montgomery branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People for 15 years said that the NAACP is growing rapidly in Montgomery now. "We took in 800 new members last week," she said.

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